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be unjust and injurious to the superior interests of the nations as a whole. One finds in the United States many citizens who declare themselves opposed to the abuse of the Monroe Doctrine.

Having reached the end of this report, it is not for me to draw conclusions. But I may note the fact that if the organization of international justice and law, as also of the collectivity of the nations, is making some progress, this process is constantly hindered by the malevolent and immoral spirit of the great powers of Europe.

A. GOBAT.

BERNE, August 20, 1912.

The Peril of the Air.

By W. Evans Darby, LL. D., Secretary of the Peace Society, London.

[A paper presented to the Nineteenth Universal Peace Congress, Geneva, September 27, 1912.]

A new horror has invaded civilization. The growth of military aviation has taken place with such startling rapidity that the public generally have scarcely had time or opportunity to study its significance, and the application of the new science to war has been taken so much as a matter of course that they have not had the inclination to do so. The developments, however, have been so great, they have been bruited abroad with such trembling anxiety, and the press, as usual, has been so loudly persistent, that it is no longer possible to maintain an attitude of indifference. Even were this not so, the pacifists of the world would not wish to shirk their duty by avoiding the examination of a question which, more than any other connected with military warfare, is fraught with importance at the present moment, and is so ominous for the future prosperity and peace of the world.

GROWTH OF AVIATION.

Our prodigious progress in aviation is of very recent date. It belongs to the last three or four years; to be precise, since the brothers Wilbur and Orville Wright returned to the flying arena after a period of renewed experiments.

Each of the intervening years since presents a striking record. The current year, says F. A. Talbot, has been one of the most notable, and at the same time one of the most disastrous in the history of human flight. The very achievements, he says, show that the conquest of the air is by no means yet complete. This sounds paradoxical, but when the eyes are cleared of enthusiasm, and the problem is investigated dispassionately, this failure to progress is only too apparent. Experienced aviators, it is said, recognize that the problems which beset aviation in its earliest days are almost as many today. The history of motor-racing is taken as an illustration of inevitable slackening, and the terrible toll of the air in human life from day to day is appalling and discouraging. Astonishing progress has been made, but the victory over the air has not yet been won.

So stands the question of the growth of aviation, but it does not touch that which interests us most—the use of air-craft in war.

MILITARY AVIATION.

Already we have a beginning in that direction. To Italy belongs the undying, but execrable, renown of taking the initiative in the prostitution of the new science to the purposes of human destruction, or, as it is proudly claimed on her behalf, of demonstrating the practical value of aviation in war. The *Times* correspondent considerably adds, "It is, of course, true that the conditions have been specially favorable; but in any case it is already clear that no nation can afford to go to war with a marked inferiority in aerial strength." That sums up the whole situation. Italy has established the precedent; the rest must follow. It is a doubtful honor; it is a mad infatuation; but there it is. The rest are following with all their might. France comes first; early in 1912 the military authorities had 234 war aeroplanes at their disposal, 300 are being added to those in commission at the end of the year, and in 1913 and 1914 another 500 are to be purchased, until the French army has over 1,000 of the "fourth arm." Russia has decided to purchase 150 monoplanes. Germany does not, perhaps, possess more than 100 military aeroplanes, but the last year's maneuvers have impressed the authorities with the necessity for increasing the numbers, and with characteristic energy they are doing it. Six military aviation schools have been opened, and officers are also receiving training at civilian flying schools. A large number of aeroplanes have been ordered, and altogether Germany proposes to spend £740,000 (nearly fifteen million marks) on military aviation during the year. Great Britain, judging from the outcries of the "patriotic" press, was lagging very far behind. But a remarkable testimony is given by the *Berliner Tageblatt's* naval expert, Captain Persits, who writes, "The French and English are far ahead of us in aeronautics. In hydroaeronautics they struggle for honors, whilst we are not even in it as competitors." The official *Larinerundschau* says, "that although England has hitherto held back in respect to the 'fourth arm,' she now shows equal energy in making up lost ground, and her efforts are crowned with success, as is shown by the results achieved in a short time."

It is not necessary to go into details as regards the other civilized powers. They are all, or nearly all, in the running. One series of facts will show this. Not content with the budget expenditure on this "fourth arm," the people are appealed to in order to make up by charitable—otherwise called "voluntary" or "patriotic"—contributions for the weakness of the exchequer or the defects or tardiness of their government.

It is announced that the German national subscription for aviation, which is about to close, has reached, with the aid of Prince Henry's appeal to the patriotism of the German people, a total of £300,000 (or 6,000,000 marks). A report of the executive of the French National Committee of Military Aviation shows that the total received and promised, as published by the *Matin*, amounted on July 10 to about £146,768 (3,669,200 francs). In Italy, the King himself, as an example, subscribed 100,000 lire to the national collection. In Austria, the Minister of War put himself at the head of the national lottery for the purpose, and in Great Britain the "Aerial League of the British Empire" is making a national appeal for 1,000,000 shillings for

British aviation. The promoters, I notice, have had their fling at the government, so that it is not altogether non-political; indeed, I notice it is always so. No government spends enough to satisfy the jingo appetite, which is always "asking for more."

"The chief drawback to British aviation," says the League, "has been the lack of a strong aeronautical manufacturing industry"—the fault of the government, which has not furnished custom enough, as avowed by others. "Manufacturers," it says, "have been almost starved out of existence. But for the sporting instincts of many of them there would be little flying in this country at the present time," and so forth. It is to be noted also that the League proposes to dispense this fund itself. Judging from recent press notices, however, the British government has evidently proved itself to be a dirigible machine. But it is not alone. It cannot help itself. All governments have committed themselves to that false philosophy of life which considers war to be inevitable, and only to be warded off by constant preparation for it, and that therefore the "whole duty of man"—of nations, at any rate—"is to be ready and alert to slaughter each other when opportunity arises or occasion demands." This is the supreme exigency and the military organization presses into its service every available thing—the resources of life, the attainments of science and art, the achievements of ingenuity and industry—everything has to become subservient, and the more deadly and destructive their character (the more effective they would say), the more welcome, and the more indispensable they are. So the new science of aviation becomes military and mischievous, and that which might ultimately be a source of pleasure, or of profit, is already a menace and a terror.

To what end is it all! Those were pregnant words spoken on June 27 by M. Adolph Girod in the French Chamber of Deputies, during the debate on the future of military aviation (as recorded in "The Peace Movement" of July):

"Our superiority in everything concerning aviation," said M. Girod, "is incontestable, and it is a pledge and a guarantee of that peace which is so greatly desired by us all. The Republican Committee of Trade and Industry might well say, Now, gentlemen, as regards that aerial vessel for which we are subscribing in order to present it to the State, we ask nothing better than that it should be called 'Peace.' In choosing this name for it, however, we wish to express alike our sorrow and our hope—sorrow because it seems to us regrettable, and even grievous, that the state of Europe should be such that for the last forty years the finest discoveries of science have been considered first from the point of view of how far they could be utilized for war purposes. There is no need to insist on the paradox of applying the creations of human genius and the accumulated results of human labor to the destruction of humanity. Why must we be condemned to witness the birth of so many wonderful inventions without being free to apply them to the furtherance of peace and of the arts of peace? It is a misfortune of the age that this deplorable misapplication of power and prosperity, this departure from common sense, should still continue. France, at all events, can look on at this painful state of affairs with a perfectly easy conscience, for she is

merely enduring the weight of circumstances for which she is nowise responsible. If it depended on her alone, there would be no such profoundly illogical thing as the conquest of the air, that is, of an element which can be neither appropriated, nor have boundaries nor frontiers set to it, turned into a form of military conquest, or at any rate of military defense. France, as is natural, would only be too glad to see these powerful birds of the air one day bearing to the world the olive branch of peace, in token of the reconciliation of mankind."

Alas! all the others make the same avowals and express the same sentiments. But the military progress goes on.

THE PRESSING ACTUALITY.

The alternative is simply unthinkable. We have not yet come to it. The history of war in the past is horrible and inhuman enough. What aerial warfare will mean—what the ultimate results of aeroplane invasion will involve—all that is beyond our imagination, for it is at present outside our experience. The invaded Arabs of Tripoli might tell us, and even they only to a very limited extent. We must keep to actualities. The first and most pressing of these is that the mad race of aerial armaments has already begun; the wasteful, profitless game—and yet to some evidently most profitable, for is it not primarily, as we have already seen, a question of business—the game of "Follow my leader" is in full swing.

Here, too, in this new art of aviation, the vicious maxim has been adopted that each must do just what the others are doing. The assumption invariably is, that the enemy—real or potential—can be checkmated only in the sphere, and along the lines, and in the temper and spirit of its own action, as, to take an extreme case, when "civilized" soldiers invade an uncivilized or savage people; or as when a Christian country builds dreadnoughts or airships because another Christian country is doing it.

The consequence is, that there is no break in the blackness of the international sky because there is no real progress in the art of diplomacy, and if the new doctrine, which rules out all idealism in international affairs, be adopted to any extent, there never will be any, even though history, philosophy and experience are all clamorous for something better, and war is admitted to be an anachronism and "the most futile and ferocious of human follies."

(To be continued.)

International Congress of Chambers of Commerce.

Its Impressive Declarations for International Peace.

The Fifth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, which met in Boston September 24-26, 1912, was the most important commercial gathering ever held, more than five hundred foreign delegates and three hundred American delegates being present, representing together the most important commercial organizations of practically every civilized nation in the world. It was a great peace congress and a wonderful witness to the profound and pervasive conviction of the world's commercial leaders that the imperative interests of trade